

has had a natural increase within the last twenty years—and nearly the same ratio is borne out by the statistics ever since our government was established—more than double the natural increase of the negro population of the North, adding to that free population and its increase all the negroes who have escaped from the South. Is there no force in that argument? Taking their physical condition, which I contend is the only true ground upon which to judge of their happiness or misery; taking their physical condition, their bodily comfort, their mental condition, their moral and their intellectual condition, the statistics abundantly prove that they are happier, better off, and with a natural increase more than double, in this state of bondage, which is represented as so cruel and inhuman, than it is in a state of liberty.

Now, in regard to the mental condition of the negro. Do we not all know that any people who are in a condition that is so distressing, so outrageous, so oppressive, so monstrous, as the condition of slavery is represented to be by gentlemen who hold different views from us, must suffer in mind; and that suffering in mind produces insanity? Now, if you look to the statistics of insanity in the United States, what is the lesson that they teach? There are more than seven free to one slave insane in the United States. Now, does not that show that all these representations of the distress and suffering imposed on them in a condition of slavery, are misrepresentations, or that there would be more manifestations of the effects in cases of insanity without number? While the ratio, in fact, is as one to seven in their favor.

And suicide is another result of misery and oppression. We know that when a people are subjected to afflictions of mind and body, they are very frequently in their frenzy and despair driven to the commission of suicide. Now, how many cases of suicide occur among the slave population of the South? I am sorry the statistics of the United States do not afford information upon that point. But I appeal to every gentleman in this House to say how many instances of suicide of slaves have come to their knowledge. It is true, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe has painted a glowing picture of a lady of color throwing herself into the Mississippi, and thus putting an end to her life. That is a highly painted picture. Is there a parallel to it in real life? Such a one has not come under my observation.

A great deal has been said about the separation of families, the harrowing of the soul, and heart-rendings, that is caused among the negroes by the laws which justify the separating of the husband from the wife, and the parent from the child. Sir, had it not been for the abolitionists of the North, and the war waged upon the institution of slavery, I believe that in every Southern State there would

now be laws prohibiting the separation of families by selling members of them to distant parts of the country. I am not advised as to particular States, but if there is any reliance to be placed upon what legal gentlemen tell me, there have been statutes of that character already passed in several of the slave States. But I am inclined to think the affections of the negro are not so strong as they are represented to be. I have had a negro woman to go away and leave four small children. And in my own neighborhood, within a few weeks past, there has been a case of a negro woman going away and leaving five small children, one in arms. And under the particular regime under which our slaves are now, there was nothing to prevent that negro taking up all those children, and all their bag and baggage, in broad daylight, and going off, and no one would have been able to offer any resistance.

Then, in all that pertains to the physical condition of the negro, we find that he is infinitely better off, more happy and more prosperous in the condition of slavery than in the condition of freedom. Hence, I infer that the institution is neither immoral, unchristian, or cruel.

But it is said that slavery affects injuriously the material interests of our State, and hence we must have emancipation. Sir, the State of Maryland has been sectionalized, just as the whole country has been sectionalized. The Northern States have waged a war of aggression upon the institutions of the South, and I am sorry to say that the very same spirit is in our own State; that the northern and western counties of the State of Maryland are wantonly waging an aggressive war upon the institutions of Southern Maryland. And they point us to the physical differences of those sections of the State, and justify the measure of emancipation because the northern and western counties are more prosperous, more populous, more wealthy than the southern section of the State, and say that the poverty of Southern Maryland is caused by the blighting influences of slavery there. Now, sir, are there no other reasons why Northern and Western Maryland is more populous, more thrifty, more fertile, more wealthy than Southern Maryland? Look at the vast beds of coal embowelled in the mountains there, inviting the laborer, the mechanic, and the capitalist, and remunerating them richly for their labor and expense. Look at the mineral resources of the State, all confined to Western Maryland. Look at the vast quarries, and the limestone affording ready means of improving the soil. Look at the Susquehanna and its tributaries pouring annually into the Chesapeake Bay an immense amount of lumber, throwing into the lap of Cecil and Harford counties an immense amount of trade—not owing to any particular enterprise of those counties. And yet they vaunt it be-